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God and discipline: religious education and character building in a Christian school in Jakarta

Chang-Yau Hoon

Abstract: A school is an institution in which student subjectivity is constituted and reinscribed through various ‘disciplinary technologies’. The interplay between discipline and discipleship in the practice of Christian education is mutually constitutive. Through the study of a Protestant Christian school in Jakarta, this article explains the disciplinary technologies deployed by the school in its inculcation of discipline and character building. By examining the school’s religious education practices the study provides insight into the perceptions of the school management, teachers and students with regard to various ethical, moral and religious issues. The author considers how Christian schools can develop critical reflective skills and respect for differences, and so can contribute to a tolerant, peaceful and multicultural Indonesia.

Keywords: multiculturalism; religious education; Christian education; Chinese Indonesians; Indonesia

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‘Modern, secular, contemporary education has actually failed,’ declared Indonesian tycoon and education philanthropist James Riady in *CampusAsia* (Riady, 2009, p 74).¹ *CampusAsia* was an Indonesia-based English-language magazine (it is now defunct), which featured education issues and campus life in Indonesia. In the cover story ‘The failure of secular education’, Riady cited rising crime rates and moral failures in the USA, including ‘smoking, consumption of prohibited drugs, lesbianism and homosexuality, and pornography’, as evidence of the failure of secular education (p 72). He maintained that there were fundamental differences between secular and religious schools.² Riady began to establish private Christian (Protestant) schools on returning to Indonesia from the USA in 1988. To counter the ‘moral panic’ he perceived, his schools teach fundamental Christian doctrines and promote discipline through training students to become disciples

¹ James Riady is the CEO of the Lippo Group – a major business conglomerate in Indonesia. He is an Indonesian of Chinese descent and is a publicly known, fervent evangelical Christian. Besides a Christian university and dozens of private Christian schools across Indonesia, he also owned the now-defunct *CampusAsia* magazine (see Hoon, 2012).

² Secular schools, Riady argues, teach children that their ancestors came from apes, which fails to provide students with ‘a purpose in life’. He contends that ‘only when you know that you come from God will you have a purpose and accountability in life’ (Riady, 2009, p 74).

of Jesus Christ. He advocates for ‘theocracy’ in education, which he defines as the ways in which ‘teachers know how to integrate faith, knowledge and character when teaching history, mathematics, astronomy, chemistry and other school lesson [*sic*]’ (p 76).³

The Christian schools established by Riady are typical of schools in the private Christian sector in Indonesia. They reflect the reality and objective of most Christian schools that are established by evangelical churches. The evangelical Christian school sector is among the fastest growing and most lucrative in the competitive business of private education in Indonesia. Francis (2005) argues that a Christian school can replicate and reproduce an environment of a Christian community when a student is surrounded by other students who are committed to a belief in God, and whose faith is grounded in the inerrancy of scripture. Many Christian parents in Jakarta share this belief and send their children to Christian schools so that they can be immersed in an environment that models the faith practice of their home or church.

These private Christian schools appeal not only to Christian parents, but also to non-Christian Chinese parents, who are attracted by the exclusive ethnic and social class environment, academic accomplishments and reputation, along with character building based on Christian values and discipline that the schools claim to provide (Hoon, 2011). Many parents who send their children to Christian schools see religion as a driver to reinforce discipline. The correlation between religious education and discipline is both empirically and discursively embedded. Empirical research has shown that Christian schools tend to exhibit a high commitment to moral values and discipline (see Francis, 2005; Green, 2009). Moreover, the Christian discursive notion of ‘discipleship’ evokes a process of disciplining the self to become more like Christ.⁴

A school is an institution in which student subjectivity is constituted and reinscribed through various ‘disciplinary technologies’ (see Foucault, 1977; Grant, 1997).⁵ The interplay between discipline and discipleship in the practice of Christian education is mutually constitutive: to be a disciple of Christ one is expected to practise self-discipline; and the display of good discipline is seen as the fruit of

³ Riady interprets ‘Belief in One Supreme God’, the first principle in the state ideology of Indonesia, Pancasila, to mean that Indonesia is a theocracy (Riady, 2009, p 76). Addressing the inadequate teaching of religion in liberal secular education offered by public schools in the USA, Nord (2010) urges these schools to ‘take religion seriously’ and cautions them against what he refers to as ‘secular indoctrination’ (p 5). He argues that in order to allow students to think critically, they must be introduced to both secular and religious alternatives to understanding the world. Nord’s assertion is, however, markedly different from that of Riady’s, mentioned above: Nord does not entertain the idea that religious schools are the alternative to secular education. While Nord thinks that religion has to be taught in secular schools, he disapproves of religious indoctrination as much as secular indoctrination.

⁴ Schmidt (2001, Chapter 7) argues that ‘discipleship’ is central to Christian education because it is seen as a commandment from Jesus Christ himself. As recorded in the Bible, Jesus told his disciples to ‘make disciples of all nations...teaching them to obey everything I have commanded you’ (Matthew 28, 19–20).

⁵ Foucault discussed a range of disciplinary technologies used in nineteenth century institutional life, which aimed to produce ‘the obedient subject, the individual subjected to habits, rules, orders; an authority that is exercised continually around him and upon him and which he must allow to function automatically in him’ (1977, pp 128–129). Grant uses Foucault’s notion of ‘disciplinary technologies’ to examine how a university functions as a ‘disciplinary block’ that imposes certain structures and practices at every level to ‘discipline students, to make them obedient, to make them as much as possible into good students’ (1997, p 107).

discipleship. This is illustrated in the book, *Growing Good Catholic Girls*, in which Christine T. Jack (2003) examined the disciplinary technologies (including reward and punishment) and self-monitoring practices employed at a Catholic convent in Australia (pp 24–27). Ultimately, she argues, these practices are aimed at producing ‘efficient citizens of both the state and the Church’ (p 26).

A religious school can also deploy the disciplinary technology of authority through imposing instructions on the ways religious practices are to be performed. This can be seen in Feinberg’s (2006) description of a Jewish school where,

‘learning to pray is not at all a simple matter. It is real work and serves not only to worship God but also to continually reconstitute a religious community. To pray “like *this*!” is to reconstruct *this* community [p 98] ... To take on a religious identity entails learning to perform certain practices, coming to understand their meaning, and learning to accept certain beliefs as one’s own.’ (p 103)

This demonstrates that religious schools play a crucial role in maintaining and regulating religious performativity. The regulation of such ‘performance’ is especially relevant to Christian schools where austere disciplining is deemed essential for students to become disciples of Christ.

While religious schools serve an important function in their own right, there remains the question of the extent to which religious schools ‘may develop the critical reflective skills and the attitude of respect for differences that democracy requires’ (Feinberg, 2006, p xv). This, Feinberg further argues, ‘includes both respect for other systems of belief, religious and nonreligious, and respect for evidence that guides belief’ (*ibid*). Feinberg’s assertion is especially relevant in our current world where religious pluralism is ‘a massive fact of modernity’ (Nord, 2010, p 290). This raises the question of whether religious tolerance can be inculcated in a confessional religious school where only one religion is taught. How does a Christian school define and teach tolerance? It is less likely that a confessional school will teach religious tolerance if it perceives such tolerance as a threat to its own religion or to the absolutist position that it espouses. The same goes for tolerance of sexual practices and sexuality if the school perceives such tolerance as inimical to its religious belief and discipline. What kind of ‘disciplinary technologies’ are used in a Christian school to promote discipline, character building and religious indoctrination? These questions will be explored in the article through an examination of the religious education practices in a Christian school in Indonesia.

The article will begin by outlining the different approaches to Christian religious education in Indonesia, in the context of the two major Protestant movements – the ecumenical and the evangelical. Then it will discuss findings in a Chinese Christian school in Jakarta, where I conducted ethnographic research in July and August 2010.⁶ It will explain the disciplinary technologies deployed by the school in its inculcation of ‘Christian values’ and ‘Godly character’. By examining the school’s religious education practices – with a particular emphasis on its religion and character-building classes – the study provides insight into the perceptions of the school management, teachers and students on various ethical, moral and religious

⁶ The article draws on materials from interviews, focus group discussions, field notes on participant observation, and school publications such as textbooks, students’ magazines, prospectuses and other promotional materials.

issues. The article will reflect on the ways in which Christian schools can develop 'critical reflective skills and the attitude of respect for differences' (Feinberg, 2006, p xv) and contribute towards a tolerant, peaceful and multicultural Indonesia.

Approaches to Christian education in Indonesia

Two approaches commonly identified in religious education are teaching *into* religion and teaching *about* religion (see De Ruyter, 1999; Tan, 2003). Also known as the confessional approach, 'teaching into religion' involves religious indoctrination, which aims to produce students who are committed to an exclusive religious world view. Indoctrination is associated with the method of teaching which privileges one particular religious framework for interpreting reality over other alternatives. Such a method does not tolerate deviation from that particular religious view, and prevents critical reflection upon the truth of what has been taught (Pring, 2005; Nord, 2010). Based on this definition, indoctrination is 'the very antithesis of a liberal, critical approach to education' (Pring, 2005, p 58). Feinberg (2006) argues that it is inappropriate for religious schools to use the instrument of education to inculcate students into practices of one religion to the extent that it systematically misinforms about other belief systems. While he acknowledges that religious schools cannot be expected to be impartial about the merits of their own faith, Feinberg expects a religiously educated person to be 'partial in ways that are reasonable and fair-minded, that do not systematically distort the beliefs or other religions, and that are open to the merits of other systems of belief' (p xxi). Such open-mindedness, unfortunately, cannot be inculcated through the confessional approach.

'Teaching about religion', on the other hand, offers religion as an academic subject without any intention to convert students to a particular religion or to impose an exclusive religious world view.⁷ Sometimes referred to as the 'phenomenological' approach, teaching about religion may expose students to a wide range of religious views and practices in an objective manner (Tan, 2003). To avoid indoctrination, this approach focuses on social and cultural expressions rather than doctrinal beliefs of religion. Nevertheless, Tan (2003) observes several limitations of this approach. In its quest to avoid indoctrination, religion is sometimes represented in a truncated and incomplete way. Tan also notes that it may not be possible to teach religion and religious experience if a teacher is a total outsider and assumes an objective subject position. She suggested another non-indoctrinatory approach – teaching *from* religion – in which students are introduced to a religion from *within* the religious system while ensuring that the child's rational autonomy is not restricted (Tan, 2003).

The adoption of a particular approach often reflects the faith position of the school or of the church with which the school is affiliated. Such a faith position generally comes from one of the two major global Christian movements – ecumenical or evangelical. In Indonesia, the ecumenical comprises the ethnic-based 'mainline' churches which inherited the Dutch Reformed theology from the early

⁷ De Ruyter (1999) notes that the teacher takes a descriptive rather than prescriptive approach in teaching about religion, and makes an analogy with language teaching: 'teaching English or German is not teaching to become an Englishman [*sic*] or a German, but acquiring knowledge about the country and its history and skills to speak the language' (p 222).

Dutch mission. The evangelical movement, on the other hand, is closely associated with the fundamentalist movement that emerged in the USA in the early twentieth century.⁸ The key difference between the ecumenical and the evangelical movements is their interpretation of the call by Jesus 'to make disciples of all nations', which is otherwise known as 'the Great Commission'. This involves a construal of the nature of the Gospel, and the role of the church in carrying out 'evangelism'. This understanding directly affects the ways in which Christian churches and schools interact with their local environment or position themselves in the multicultural society of Indonesia.

In fact, missionizing is a distinctive aspect of the Christian religious education curricula that is not found in the school curricula of other religions. While both the ecumenicals and the evangelicals recognize that the church has a mission to bring the Gospel to the world, their understandings of what constitutes the Good News and how it should be spread differ significantly. The ecumenicals believe that Jesus has accomplished salvation for all people, and the role of the church is to bring the 'shalom' of God to the world so that everyone can experience justice, freedom and peace. Hence, they place much emphasis on social concerns and justice. The focus of mission is 'horizontal': that is, to liberate the poor and the oppressed, and not to Christianize unbelievers. In contrast, the evangelicals subscribe to the view that the church's mission is to proclaim the Gospel through evangelism. They accentuate a 'vertical' dimension of mission, which features the preaching of repentance or conversion, and the establishment of a personal relationship with God (Konaniah, 1995; Aritonang and Steenbrink, 2008; Krabill *et al.*, 2006).

For the evangelicals, the primary mission of a Christian school is to fulfil the 'Great Commission' by spreading the Gospel and winning souls for Christ. Besides producing good citizens, the ultimate purpose of education in an evangelical school – like the Riady school mentioned above – is to produce godly citizens. Evangelical churches saw the government regulation to make religion a compulsory subject in schools as a perfect opportunity to bring students to Christ (Mujiburrahman, 2006; Tinggi, 2012).⁹ The approach adopted by most evangelical Christian schools is that of 'teaching into religion', which advocates 'a return to the fundamentals of the faith with a focus on conversion and proselytism' (Antone, 2004).¹⁰

In contrast, the ecumenical movement sees schools as a vessel that can contribute to humanity and nation building. For the ecumenicals, the objective of education is to serve the society and to produce capable leaders who are concerned with social justice and prosperity for the people (Konaniah, 1995). They interpret the 'Great Commission' not as a call to evangelism but to witness the presence of

⁸ Due to the similarity in their fundamental beliefs, this article groups Pentecostal and Charismatic churches under the evangelical movement.

⁹ Rosyeline Tinggi, a lecturer in an evangelical seminary in Jakarta, claims that 'teachers, students and parents can get to know Jesus Christ as their savior through the service and education of Christian schools' (2012, p 94).

¹⁰ These schools generally have little concern for social causes. They usually cater to the middle and upper middle classes, as they charge a considerable fee. Beyond the spiritual mission to convert others, Christian schools also serve a practical and material need of the church, which is to contribute to church membership, for winning students to Christ has proved to bring remarkable growth to local churches (Konaniah, 1995).

Christ in Indonesia. They often criticize the evangelical approach to education as a continuation of the colonial mission (Singgih, 2009, p 248).¹¹ The ecumenicals deploy a more open, inclusive and liberal approach to Christian education, which interprets the Bible contextually, and which is sensitive to the social reality of pluralism (see Antone, 2010; Christiani, 2005). Hence, most ecumenical Christian schools tend to avoid indoctrination by adopting the approach of ‘teaching about’ or ‘teaching from religion’ and by placing a strong emphasis on religious pluralism and interfaith dialogue in their approach.¹²

Contextualizing the Olive Tree Christian School

In July and August 2010, I conducted fieldwork at the Olive Tree Christian School (pseudonym) – a school established by one of the oldest *peranakan* [Indonesian-speaking Chinese descent] Protestant churches in Jakarta. The Olive Tree Christian School (OTCS) began its operation in 1952 as a kindergarten and primary school, and gradually expanded into providing lower and upper secondary education in the late 1950s. Today, the OTCS has three campuses: the original campus (OTCS I) is located in the Chinatown area of Jakarta, catering for lower middle class Chinese students. The second campus (OTCS II), which offers education to a middle and upper class Chinese population, is tucked away in an exclusive Chinese-concentrated residential estate in West Jakarta. A third campus (OTCS III) was set up a decade ago in a new residential estate on the outskirts of Jakarta.

My research focuses on senior high school (or SMA, *Sekolah Menengah Atas*) students at OTCS I and II. While most of the students are Protestants, Catholic and Buddhist students make up about 30% of the school population. The school comprises predominantly ethnic Chinese students, making the handful of non-Chinese, non-Christian (Muslim and Hindu) students the minority.¹³ The ethnic composition of the school is one of the main attractions of OTCS to Chinese Indonesian parents. All of the teachers are Christians except for two Muslim teachers who were hired at OTCS I in the early days when Christian teachers were scarce. The school has now adopted a policy of only recruiting Protestant or Catholic teachers in order to ensure the transference of ‘Christian values and characters’ to its students (FGD, Senior Administrators, 23 July 2010). During fieldwork, I arrived at the school daily at 7 am and left at around 3 pm, from Monday to Friday. I conducted 22 individual semi-structured interviews and five focus group discussions (FGDs) with senior school administrators, pastors, teachers, counsellors, students and parents. As part of schoolyard ethnography, I carried out participant

¹¹ Emanuel Gerrit Singgih, an ecumenical theologian in Yogyakarta, maintains that only when Christian schools are willing to provide general education to students of all religions, with no conditions of conversion attached, are they truly fulfilling the ‘Great Commission’ (Singgih, 2009, p 251).

¹² There is a caveat that needs to be highlighted. The ecumenical/evangelical binary should be treated as shorthand to facilitate understanding of the complex dynamics of Christianity in Indonesia. The boundary between the two groups is not always watertight and the interaction between them is dynamic. In reality, there are evangelical churches that participate as members of ecumenical organizations such as the Communion of Churches in Indonesia [*Persekutuan Gereja-Gereja di Indonesia*, PGI], just as there are ecumenical churches that adopt an evangelical worship style and mission approach. In such cases, we expect to see a bricolage of religious education approaches, as will be discussed in the case study below.

¹³ The non-Chinese students chose the school because of its close proximity to their house, its reputation or the favourable experience of their siblings who were previously schooled there.

observation in various Year 11 classes, including religious education and character-building lessons. I also observed student dynamics at school assemblies, weekly chapel services and at the canteen, and noted their in-class behaviour and socializing at school.

Before discussing the religious education approach adopted at OTCS, it is essential to understand the identity of the church with which the school is affiliated, and the relationship between the church and the school. While most church-established Chinese Christian schools are run independently from their synod and their parent church, the operation of the Olive Tree Christian School is under a stringent hierarchy, with the church synod having direct control of the education foundation under which the school is run.¹⁴ The direct control exerted by the Olive Tree Christian Church (OTCC) synod serves a policing function to the 'Christian values' of the school so that only those values can be inculcated through curriculum, environment and school mission. The staff recruitment policy described above is an outcome of such control, which goes to show the degree of exclusivity of the church.

Although the Olive Tree Christian Church identifies itself as an ecumenical church and a member of the Communion of Churches in Indonesia (PGI), its religious practices do not totally reflect an ecumenical outlook. At a glance, the liturgy and Dutch Reformed theology observed by the church resemble those of a 'mainline' ecumenical church in Indonesia. Nonetheless, evangelism and Pietism¹⁵ have had an indelible influence on the history of the church. The OTCC was originally established as a Methodist church by missionaries from the Methodist Episcopal Church in America in 1905. It only became Dutch Reformed after it was handed over to the Dutch Mission (NZV) in 1928 due to a lack of funding and problems associated with territoriality.¹⁶ The OTCC, however, never entirely adopted the Dutch Reformed theology, as it continued to be inspired by Pietism and Revivalism (both evangelistic in nature). One such example may be seen in its participation in the revival movements led by the famous Chinese evangelist, John Sung, in Java in the late 1930s (see Hoon, 2013). With such a legacy of evangelical influences, the religious education approach adopted by OTCS is more complex than those in straight-laced ecumenical or evangelical schools.

While the exclusive staff recruitment policy of OTCS reflects little of the ecumenical spirit, its vision and mission, as stated in the school's 2010 prospectus, appear to be more inclusive. The vision of the school is to build Christian character and to develop students' potential and concern towards the society, nation and the world. Its stated mission is to develop the identity of the students through an integrated education method, individual socialization and creative pedagogy. These stand in stark contrast to the vision and mission of most evangelical schools, which often aim at religious proselytization (see Hoon, 2011). A bricolage of both evangelical and ecumenical practices can be identified in the school's religious education approach. The following sections will explore the dynamics and

¹⁴ Profiles of several Chinese Christian schools in Jakarta are discussed in Hoon (2011). The direct involvement of the education foundation in OTCS can be contrasted with education foundations of other private schools, which only 'play a limited, usually finance-only, role' (Parker and Raihani, 2011).

¹⁵ Pietism is a Christian movement practised during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries that emphasizes individual piety and living a strict Christian life.

¹⁶ Unless otherwise stated, the church profile is adapted from its 80th Anniversary Magazine.

power relations associated with the negotiation between evangelical and ecumenical approaches within the school among the administrators, teachers and students; and outside the school, with the church and the state.¹⁷

‘The fear of God is the beginning of knowledge’: religious education and practices

One of the foremost outcomes of education stated in the Education Act of 2003 is to produce citizens who are ‘pious to God’. The centrality of religion is also enacted in the first principle of the Pancasila national ideology – a belief in God Almighty. It is notable that religion has been a compulsory subject in every school in Indonesia, both public and private. Article 13 (1) of the 2003 Education Law went a step further, requiring schools to provide religious teaching for students in accordance with their own faith, taught by a teacher who belongs to the same faith. This means that if a Christian school has Muslim students, the school is required to provide the students with an Islamic religion class taught by a Muslim teacher (Leirvik, 2004). This requirement has raised controversy and angst among Christian schools in Indonesia.¹⁸

Citing the 2003 legislation as the ‘greatest challenge’ to Christian education in Indonesia, the Academic Director of OTCS revealed that most Christian schools, including OTCS, have refused to comply with the requirement to provide religious teaching for students in accordance with their own faith (FGD, 23 July 2010). According to him, the Law has been implemented more ‘fanatically’ in the regions [*daerah*] than in big cities such as Jakarta. ‘In Jakarta, Christian schools can still maintain their [Christian] character [*ciri khas*],’ he added. He maintains that the Olive Tree Christian School has clearly indicated in its name that it is a ‘Christian’ school. Hence, ‘customers should have known that if they entered the OTCS they have to follow the Christian values that we offer through Christian Religion Education’. Christian schools such as OTCS serve a niche market: ‘customers who want an Islamic education can send their children to Muhammadiyah schools,’ he further argues. To Halstead and McLaughlin (2005), such a view would be totally justified because ‘of their very nature, faith schools provide a distinctive education designed specifically for a distinctive sub-group of society’ (p 64).

OTCS offers only Christianity [*Pendidikan Agama Kristen*, or PAK] in its religious education. The school requires parents to sign a consent form to allow their child to participate fully in Christian education, including the religion class, daily morning devotion, weekly chapel service and an annual retreat. Such consent is commonly used in most Protestant and Catholic schools in Indonesia as a way to circumvent the requirement of the 2003 Education Law. Although they felt marginalized, the school senior management understood that the enactment of the

¹⁷ The titles of the next two sections are inspired by the school’s value statement, which states, *inter alia*, that: (1) We believe that ‘the fear of God is the beginning of knowledge’ and (2) We treat students as ‘the image of God’ whose potential needs to be valued and developed.

¹⁸ Leirvik notes that before the Education Bill was passed, Christian groups, secular nationalists and the large Muslim organization, Nadhlatul Ulama, opposed the wording of the article, but to no avail (2004, p 229). However, it has to be highlighted that most, if not all, of my informants agreed that the provision was necessary in public schools but not in private religious schools.

Law was motivated by the fear of Christianization [*Kristenisasi*]. To alleviate such concerns, the school has toned down its 'Christian' branding by replacing the sensitive word '*Kristen*' (which is often associated with '*Kristenisasi*') to '*kristiani*'. Although both terms are translated as 'Christian' in English, the latter, according to the School Director, is considered more 'refined' [*halus*]. The term '*kristiani*' is seen to espouse values that are universal and not exclusively Christian (FGD, 23 July 2010). Nonetheless, the School Director was quick to stress that 'our doctrine still teaches that the Lord Jesus is the only way [to heaven], just that we don't want to be confrontational about it'.

Although the school tries to keep things low-profile and cautious, its evangelical spirit is still evident. At the FGD with school senior administrators, a female administrator recounted the story of a Hindu student who, according to her, longed [*rindu*] to go to church and to participate in Sunday school, but was prohibited by his parents. 'He was such a poor thing. Our Sunday school teachers kept praying for him ... Although the objective of our school is not to Christianize [*mengkristenkan*] students, we still spread [*memberitakan*] the good news ... Just like a sower, we sow the seeds wherever we are.' The School Director was quick to interject, 'But we don't force them [to convert]... the decision is up to them' (FGD, 23 July 2010). It may be argued that the evangelical fervour of the school comes directly from the church. This is illustrated in the church senior pastor's address published in the 55th Anniversary Magazine of OTCS in 2008:

'When OTCS was established 55 years ago, apart from aiming to educate students to acquire broad knowledge and good morals, one of its other visions was to introduce the Lord Jesus to them... we should not hesitate to implement this [vision], especially given that [one of] the objectives of education as defined by the new Education Law [2003] is to produce students who fear God...'

It can be seen that the school appears to be trying to straddle ecumenism and evangelism. While defying the 2003 legislation to provide religious teaching in accordance with the faith of students, the school has carefully negotiated the political terrain by downplaying its association with '*Kristenisasi*'. The adoption of the term '*kristiani*' is common in ecumenical schools that truly believe that Christian values are universal and non-exclusive (see Hoon, 2011). Nevertheless, the senior pastor's call to 'introduce the Lord Jesus' to students appears to reflect an evangelical motive. It also demonstrates the continuous influence of the church on the school's vision.

Although the school administrators have stressed that the school does not seek to convert students, there are students who converted to Christianity either in the school or at the annual retreat. The principal at OTCS I states that the retreat is a place where students are invited to accept Christ. She emphasized, however, that there was no compulsion for them to convert. In line with the Calvinist doctrine of predestination,¹⁹ the principal maintained, 'If God has called them [to convert], they won't be able to run away. But if they are not called [or chosen/'elected'], they won't become a Christian' (interview, 21 July 2010). An OTCS I student,

¹⁹ Predestination (also referred to as 'election') is a doctrine espoused by the Reformed tradition or Calvinism in Christianity, which claims that God has chosen certain individuals to be saved and excluded others from being saved from eternal damnation (see Steele *et al*, 2004, pp 27–28).

who self-identified as an 'ex-Christian', shared with me that he was converted at a school retreat. He said that he had stopped going to church because he disliked how the church members kept 'forcing' him to attend church by telephoning him regularly and by constantly asking his friends to remind him to go to church. He said that his Buddhist parents gave him freedom to choose his religion as long as he did not get baptized. The exception to this freedom was Islam, which his family disliked. He said, 'My parents don't really like Islam... err, my family doesn't like *pribumi* [indigenous Indonesians]... because *pribumi* always cause trouble [*ajak rebut*] (interview, 22 July 2010). Similarly, a student at OTCS II, who was converted to Christianity in primary school, told me that her Buddhist parents allowed her to explore any religion except Islam. To them, Islam causes a lot of complications [*banyak ribet*], especially the fanatics (interview, 23 August 2010). These worrying responses have to be read in the wider context of a complex and ambivalent relationship between Chinese and *pribumi*, which is largely a product of history, and of a complicated race/class/religious entanglement (see Hoon, 2008).

The two interviews above also show that besides the school, the family plays an important role in socializing children about people who are different from them. A student at OTCS II told me that many Chinese students saw themselves as 'superior' to the *pribumi*, and hence were reluctant to make friends with them.²⁰ He attributed this attitude to parental education and home environment: 'it depends on the attitude and culture in which the [Chinese] students were raised, and whether or not their parents teach them to differentiate people of a different ethnicity' (FGD, 30 August 2010). An OTCS II teacher revealed that the students on this campus had limited exposure to non-Chinese and were prone to racial differentiation. As OTCS II is located within a gated community, the *pribumi* teacher observed that, 'There is minimum socializing [with non-Chinese] in this area because we can't find many non-Chinese here. Their group [the Chinese community] is very strong'. He said that racial prejudice would continue, 'unless their parents emphasize to them the importance of socializing [with non-Chinese]' (interview, 24 August 2010).

Halstead and McLaughlin (2005) argue that faith schools that emphasize attitudes such as tolerance and respect can make a strong contribution to preparing their students for life in a democratic, multicultural society. In spite of the intolerant attitude and racial prejudice described above, OTCS has also shown some positive signs as to how religious education can contribute to tolerance. Although the comments of the church pastor and senior administrators above suggest that the school has an evangelical inclination, the religion classes (RCs) that I attended at OTCS I and II show a different picture. The RC teachers deployed a non-indoctrinatory approach which reflected 'teaching from religion' discussed earlier. The RC teachers that I interviewed at both campuses (discussed below) expressed an open-minded, pluralist and tolerant attitude towards difference. This is contrary to the findings of a 2008 survey with 500 religious teachers in public schools in Java, in which the results showed that high percentages of teachers were intolerant towards other religions and disagreed with pluralism (see Survey Report, 2008).

²⁰ It has to be noted that many Chinese students I interviewed have conflated *pribumi* with Muslims (this will be further discussed below), and hence, to some extent, their prejudice towards *pribumi* also shows their prejudice towards Muslims.

The account below offers a glimpse into a religion class at OTCS I:

‘The teacher, Ibu Sally, came across as charismatic, friendly and lively. Unlike other classes I attended where students were noisy and chaotic, this class was in good order. The topic discussed in this class was “To be a Disciple of Christ”. Ibu Sally did not refer to the textbook or the Bible. She began the class by teaching students a new motto (popularly referred to as “Yell” in Indonesia) with these words: Rejoice, Patience and Prayer. Then she asked students to define who they think Christ was and write down their definitions on the board: Messiah, saviour, the true way, redeemer, source of love, the Trinity, carpenter’s son, son of Virgin Mary, peace maker, counsellor, true friend, etc. Ibu Sally moved on to explain the identity of Christ using the definitions that the students had given. Students had a lot of fun in the class and were active in their participation.’ (Field notes, OTCS I, 21 July 2010)

This class is the antithesis of the picture of RCs that I gathered from interviews with students at OTCS I and II, in which they regarded the RCs as ‘boring’, ‘too theoretical’, ‘useless’ and ‘unnecessary’. Students enjoyed Ibu Sally’s class because they were given ownership of the class, and their contribution was valued by the teacher. Ibu Sally, 32 years old, is an ethnic Batak Christian who lived in a predominantly Muslim area in Jakarta. She went to a state school from primary to high school, where she encountered students from different religious backgrounds. She graduated from a progressive ecumenical theological seminary in Jakarta, which put a strong emphasis on religious pluralism. When I asked her how she interpreted the ‘Great Commission’, in which Christians are commanded to make disciples in every nation, Ibu Sally responded that Jesus did not specify the religion or ethnic group of the disciples that Christians were to make. She argues, ‘The teaching of Christ is universal... Jesus never forced anyone [to be Christian] but gave them options [of different religions]’ (interview, 22 July 2010).

Pak Hero, the RC teacher at OTCS II, on the other hand, was less effective in his pedagogy than Ibu Sally. I observed that his teaching was limited to the presentation of biblical facts and he rarely interacted with the students (field notes, 24 August 2010). His personality was also the opposite of Ibu Sally’s: he was calm, composed and stern. Nonetheless, like Ibu Sally, he was ecumenical in his Christian belief. He opined that religious conflicts were mostly caused by religious fanatics and fundamentalists who thought their religion was the truest. Holding firmly on to Pancasila, Pak Hero proclaimed to accept diversity in religion and ethnicity. ‘Even though this is a Christian school, I value those students who believe in Buddhism, Catholicism and Islam. I always raise examples from the Bible on how Jesus values people of different religions and beliefs,’ he said (interview, 24 August 2010). Pak Hero identified OTCS as an evangelical school because of the background of the church with which it is affiliated. ‘If the evangelical [school administration] asks us to witness Christ, we will do it. [But] we witness through our deeds or through spreading the love of Christ.’ He contrasted this approach with the approach taken by the Charismatic or Pentecostal Christians, who he regarded as aggressive in their evangelism.

Besides RCs which are taught by teachers who value pluralism, religious tolerance was also taught in a character-building class, as described below:

'Ibu Jenny emphasized to the students that even though they are at a Christian school, they should not just mingle with Christian students. She said, "There are a lot of different religions in our society". Turning to the students, she asked, "Are there any Muslims here?" "No," the students replied. "What about Buddhists?" "Some". "Catholics?" "A few". She told the students that she had always participated in the celebration of different religious festivals. She encouraged students to value people who had a different religion and respect them. "Greet the school security guards [who are Muslims]. Send your wishes to them when they celebrate Idul Fitri," she added.' (Field notes, 20 July 2010)

Ibu Jenny's diverse family background was the main catalyst for her tolerance. She came from a mixed-marriage family – her father is Ambonese and her mother is Chinese. Her family members profess different religions; there are Christians, Buddhists and Muslims. Despite such differences, the family members have a harmonious relationship. Her experience motivated her to instil tolerance in the students. However, she acknowledged that the homogeneous environment at OTCS had limited the exposure of students to religious difference. To elevate the tolerance of students, Ibu Jenny suggested taking students off the campus and allowing them to interact with the surrounding residents (interview, 20 July 2010).

Although the non-Protestants in the school comprised mainly Buddhists and Catholics, the discourse of tolerance was almost always discussed in relation to the handful of Muslim students. The most obvious reason for singling out the Muslims as the 'Other' is because to most Chinese, Muslims are synonymous with *pribumi*. They do not share the same ethnicity as the Catholic or Buddhist students, who, like the majority of the Christian students, are Chinese. In an FGD, one student said that the virtue of tolerance had become a habit to her: '[Tolerance] has become automatic. Just like if we have a Muslim here who is about to start fasting, we won't tempt her to eat. Automatically we know we shouldn't make her violate her fasting duty.' The 'automatic' mode mentioned here is akin to Bourdieu's notion of '*habitus*', which refers to a broad set of dispositions, practices and values that the students have unconsciously internalized and naturalized (Bourdieu, 1977). One of the two Muslim teachers at OTCS I told me that the school had been tolerant with her as it allowed her to carry out her prayer duties and did not oblige her to participate in the weekly chapel service (interview, 22 July 2010).

However, the assertions of tolerance need to be critically evaluated if they merely represent a regurgitation of ideal behaviours that were taught in class. Further, through the years of textbook-centred education, many Indonesian students have grown up in a discursive *habitus* of 'politically correct' thought. One can only guess the extent to which the '*habitus* of tolerance' had a basis in the social reality that they were living, especially considering the entrenched racial (and religious) prejudice towards the *pribumi*. In the same FGD in which the student talked about tolerance towards a fasting Muslim, another student added that their Muslim and Hindu classmates would be accepted *as long as* 'they assimilate into the environment' and *as long as* they 'do not cause trouble' (FGD, OTCS I, 23 July 2010). Tolerance here has become conditional on the goodwill shown by minority students. The token Muslim student at OTCS I used the Javanese term '*negeper*'

[literally, to spring back and forth]²¹ to describe his ‘ability to adapt’, which enabled him to be accepted in school: ‘If I am at home, I follow [the customs of] my ethnic identity, but if the school’s ethnic identity is like this [Chinese], I will need to adapt to it’. He explains, ‘For instance, if I were asked to pray [*sholat*] at home, I would pray. But if the school asks me to attend church service, I will attend. This is how we adapt to our environment.’ (Interview, 28 July 10)

Further investigation into the ‘*habitus* of tolerance’ at OTCS revealed that such *habitus* is sometimes unthinking. Take the case of the compulsory annual school retreat. The principal of OTCS III revealed to me that,

‘At the Year 10 retreat that was held recently... there happened to be Muslim students at this retreat, which is meant for the Christians. We had explained to their parents that the retreat is compulsory and assured them that their children will be allowed to carry out their religious obligations [at the retreat]. It was during the fasting period. So we made all the arrangements to facilitate these students. We woke up very early to prepare food for them, and they were allowed to carry out their religious duties. While they were required to join our sessions, they were fine with it because we value them.’ (Interview, 2 September 2010)

The extent to which the school was willing to accommodate the Muslim students who were undergoing fasting was commendable. However, it begs the question of why were non-Christian students compelled to join the retreat which was described as a Christian affair? One may further argue that true tolerance should mean that non-Christian students should be allowed the freedom to decide whether or not they want to join such a retreat, and that the same logic should be applied to the compulsory Christian religion class and weekly chapel. The conditions attached to tolerance confirm the assertion that, ‘even in the most ecumenical classroom, the homogeneous population [of a Christian school] can leave certain assumptions and practices unchallenged’ (Feinberg, 2006, p 156). However, from the school’s perspective, allowing non-Christian students the option not to participate in Christian activities is beyond its tolerance limit, as it may compromise its Christian identity.²² The onus is thus on the parents who have consented to their children participating in the school’s Christian education, rather than on the school to provide options for the non-Christian students.

‘In the image of God’: building Godly character

‘Character building’ has become a fashionable catchphrase across all sectors of education in Indonesia in recent years (Suparno, 2010). This concurs with one of the objectives of the Education Act of 2003 to produce citizens who possess high morals and noble character. In 2011, the Ministry of National Education published the ‘Guidance for the Implementation of Character Education’ to outline

²¹ Paradoxically, ‘*ngeper*’ is usually used with a negative connotation to mean avoiding controversy or being on whatever side is favourable for him/her in a particular situation.

²² It has to be noted, however, that there is no one singular Christian identity, for Christianity is a ‘plural’ religion with many manifestations and positions (Frederiks, 2009).

various strategies for schools to promote character education. The document identified 18 values as its priorities, including religiosity (No 1), tolerance (No 3) and discipline (No 4). The identification of 'religiosity' as the first priority among other values demonstrates the perception that religion is the foundation of morality and good character in the Ministry and in the public imagination. Although such a perception shows that 'the spiritual, the moral and the social are necessarily interconnected as categories' (Grace, 2003, p 155), it also engenders the inaccurate notion that morality is inconceivable without religion (White, 2004).²³ The close association between religion and morality is further enshrined in the recent proposal of the Education Ministry to increase hours of religious instruction in school in order to enhance moral and character development in the students (see Schonhardt, 2013).

The Olive Tree Christian School had branded itself a provider of sound character building even before character building became a fad in the education sector in Indonesia. The school motto, 'Building Character in You', has become a major selling point through which the school markets itself to parents. For instance, the 2010 school prospectus dedicated one full page to presenting students' comments on the success stories of character building at OTCS. The stories include: 'I've learned to value others around me more'; 'I have learned to be more caring to my friends, parents and siblings. When mum was sick, I showed my concern and helped her out with the housework'; and 'After learning about patience, I began to understand that I have not been patient in waiting. Moreover, I always get angry easily, but now I have changed.' These stories resemble Christian testimonies recounted during church services, which subliminally reinforce the religious identity of the school. Notwithstanding the cliché, they proved to be a powerful instrument for communicating the school ethos to potential parents looking for a school to which they could entrust their children.

In fact, several parents at OTCS I revealed to me that they had chosen this school for its strength of discipline and emphasis on character building. It has to be noted that there is generally a lack of parental participation in OTCS. Most Chinese Indonesian parents claim that they are occupied running businesses, and that they have put their trust in the school in the shaping of their children's world views and in the inculcating of proper values. One parent said she appreciated the safe environment – which she defined as free from sex and drugs – that OTCS provided, which is especially important for teenage students who are at the puberty stage, and are seeking role models and figuring out their identity (FGD, OTCS I, 31 July 2010). Non-Christian parents did not see the faith-based discipline at OTCS as a threat or an obstacle to their children obtaining a proper moral education. On the contrary, they perceived Christianity as a driver that would inculcate sound values in their children. At OTCS, discipline is constituted within the curriculum of character building, which encompasses the teaching of 'Christian' values and 'appropriate' behaviours, and the policing of morality through regulating the body and proscription of certain sexual behaviours.

It appears that the commitment of OTCS to character building (CB) goes beyond its publicity rhetoric. The school has developed its own unique curriculum

²³ White agrees with the notion that religious beliefs may encompass moral values, but rejects the idea that morality is impossible without religion (2004, p 158).

and textbooks on character building that aim to help students 'acquire good character and habits, so that they can become more like Jesus' (Preface, Year 11 Textbook). The primary school CB textbook covers general values such as honesty, cleanliness, gratefulness and patience; while the high school textbooks address more specific teenager issues such as relationships and sexuality. For example, the Year 8 textbook explores issues related to temperament, concept of the self, sexuality, love and friendship, and its Year 11 counterpart covers topics such as identity, masturbation, sex and abortion. The textbooks draw their materials from the Bible, newspapers, stories, videos and case studies. Every chapter is prefaced with a Bible verse relevant to the topic. The purpose is to remind students that they are created in the image of God, and their actions are accountable to God. Ibu Jenny, the author of the CB textbook, who also teaches character building at OTCS I, argues that 'Character Building is different from Religion Class (RC)'. According to her, CB teaches about Christian values, while RC focuses on Christian doctrines (interview, 20 July 10).

Character building is an integral part of the religious education offered at OTCS. My observation shows that CB classes can be more conservative and indoctrinatory than religion classes. For example, I noted that Ibu Jenny started her class by asking a student to say an opening prayer. She referred to the Bible throughout the class when teaching about the topic on identity (field notes, 20 July 2010). This can be contrasted with the RC that I attended in the same school, when no prayer was said and no scriptures were referred to. The representations of sexuality in the CB textbooks can also be regarded as conservative as they take an 'abstinence' stance towards sex. For instance, the Year 8 textbook states,

'The sexual relationship is created by God for marriage... sex that is carried out before marriage (premarital sex) is a sin. [Premarital sex] shows that you do not treasure the body given by God.... Other sexual acts that are considered sinful and irresponsible include premarital sex with different partners, sex with prostitutes, and so on.' (p 22)

According to Parker, Indonesian school curricula, in general, do not teach anything about sex and there is no curricular requirement to teach about sexuality (2009, p 65). In contrast, the CB curriculum at OTCS appeared to have a rather heavy focus on sexual identity and behaviour. Nevertheless, the CB textbooks are very prescriptive, leaving little room for students to develop critical reflective skills, especially in thinking about their own identity. The Year 8 textbook, for example, suggested some 'tips' to help students to 'avoid' premarital sex. These tips include: refuse sexual invitations firmly, avoid wearing revealing clothes, avoid dating in quiet and dark places, and avoid watching or reading pornographic materials (p 25). The Year 11 textbook condemned masturbation as a 'sin' and listed 'ten dangers' of masturbation (p 21). Instead of teaching safe sex, the same textbook highlighted pregnancy as an unintended consequence of sex, which leads to the 'murderous act' of abortion. This logic suggests that abstinence is the only option if one wants to avoid unwanted pregnancy and abortion. It can be argued that the CB curriculum at OTCS is a form of 'social engineering, preventive medicine and cultural indoctrination... [which] aimed at shaping the behaviour of adolescents to conform to the adult-directed norms of the time by extolling proper behaviour' (Besley, 2002, p 427).

Besides sexual acts, the Year 11 textbook also devoted a chapter to sexual identity. The chapter stresses that God has only created two genders, male and female. Transsexuals [*waria*] are represented as deviant and are not seen as a part of God's creation plan. Based on the assumption that homosexuality is a choice, the chapter warns students to be vigilant in making lifestyle choices so that they do not fall into such 'sin' (p 16). It is curious to note that the same tolerance taught in RC and CB classes towards different religions is not extended towards sexual minorities. The hard stance on non-heterosexuality was echoed in the sermon preached at a special worship service for OTCS teachers held at the Olive Tree Christian Church at the commencement of the new academic year. In his sermon, the preacher cited examples of social ills and condemned the popular American musical drama TV series, *Glee*, for promoting free sex, infidelity and homosexuality. This reminds us of the examples of 'moral failures' cited by Riady mentioned at the beginning of this article.²⁴ The preacher warned the OTCS teachers to 'be careful' of moral failures and to be steadfast in their role as the bastion of morality (field notes, 17 August 2010). The message delivered by the church serves as a disciplinary example in the reinforcement of certain moral standards of the school.²⁵

The students of OTCS have apparently quite successfully internalized the *discourse* of discipline and character building at the school through the various disciplinary technologies discussed above.²⁶ In a column entitled 'OTCS I in your eyes', published in the June 2010 edition of the OTCS I student magazine, a student wrote, 'The rules and discipline at OTCS are strict. The school programs always focus on Christian character so that students can possess good characters' (p 12). Other students concurred that, 'OTCS has strong discipline... it produces well-rounded students with good performance', and 'According to me, OTCS is the right place to shape students' character'. One should, however, take these statements with a pinch of salt as students may not want to go against the school in a school magazine. Participant observation allows the researcher to observe the gap between what the students say and what they actually do. I shall discuss some of my observations of the actual *practice* of discipline at both campuses of OTCS below.

Consistent with its marketing hype about discipline, OTCS has a set of comprehensive and strict regulations for students. These regulations are clearly presented in a document (the Regulations of Conduct, or *Peraturan Tata Tertib*) that resembles a contract, which a student and both parents are required to sign. A 'points system' is used in the school whereby penalty points will be recorded if a student breaks a rule. All students receive 100 conduct points for the whole duration of their studies in the school. A penalty is given in relation to the severity of the misconduct. For example, sleeping in class or changing of seats without permission gets -2 points, while bringing pornographic materials to school gets -32 points and a one-day suspension from class. Rewards in the form of an addition of conduct points can be obtained when a student contributes to school activities (such as serving in the weekly chapel service) or achieves academic excellence

²⁴ This kind of moral panic based on 'increasingly liberal attitudes towards sexuality', as Parker argues, is a 'nationwide' phenomenon in Indonesia (2009, p 67).

²⁵ This confirms Foucault's assertion that power operates through the discursive production of sexuality (Besley, 2002).

²⁶ This resonates with Parker's observation that, 'Discipline is a key word in the public discourse of academic schools and in the discourse of their students' (2009, p 73).

(such as winning a medal at a competition). While the disciplinary system is in place and looks impressive on paper, its implementation is inconsistent, especially across campuses.

As discussed earlier, there is a notable difference in social class between the students in OTCS I and OTCS II. Coming from families that own small retail shops in Chinatown, OTCS I students can be seen as loud, less refined and less sophisticated compared with their OTCS II counterparts, who are mostly from an upper middle class, white-collar family background. Despite their crudeness, students in OTCS I are generally more courteous than students in OTCS II. For instance, students in OTCS I would rise and greet the teachers who entered the classroom, while their counterparts in OTCS II tended to ignore the teachers. At OTCS I, students have to deposit their mobile phones at the administrative office and are only allowed to collect them when school ends. This is not required in OTCS II, even though according to the rules, mobile phones are not allowed in class (penalty of -8 points if used in class). At OTCS II, students slouched in their seats and either fell asleep or played with their mobile phones or other electronic devices when teachers were teaching, and no penalty was imposed. In addition, it was not uncommon for them to talk back to their teachers in a rude manner, as recorded in this field note:

‘I was walking with a sociology teacher towards the counselling room for an interview. A male student had spilled his lunch box at the entrance of a classroom. The teacher asked him to be responsible and clean up the mess. The student stared at the teacher fiercely before replying, “What makes you think that I’m gonna run away?” He then calmly walked away without cleaning up the spill. The teacher told me that patience was needed here as students tended to have attitude problems because of their family background.’ (Field notes, OTCS II, 24 August 2010)

Like this teacher, most other teachers who were interviewed attributed the students’ behaviour to their social class background. Teachers were reluctant to take disciplinary action against the students, fearing complaints by their parents.

In contrast, teachers at OTCS I were not apprehensive in implementing the rules. I was told by a student that the penalty point system was adhered to: ‘The rules are so strict here, a small fight will end with penalty points and suspension!’ (FGD, OTCS I, 23 July 2010) In the same FGD, a student recounted her impression of the character building taught in the school:

‘When I first entered OTCS, I thought to myself, “character building... whatever... I’m sure it’s all talk only”. Because I knew that most schools that my friends go to also talk a lot about character building... but it’s all talk and not practised. After I came here, I didn’t feel anything [different] in the first month or two. Only when I was about to get promoted to Year 11, I started having flashbacks... it’s actually true that OTCS teaches character, even if we don’t consciously feel it. Like what they teach about honesty... and Christian values... Although I can’t care less about the religious stuff, without knowing, I was like being led to a righteous path [*jalan yang benar*]. So it’s here that I learned about the values...’

The contrasting depiction of the two campuses shows that social class is an important factor in the execution of disciplinary technologies in the institution of OTCS. It seems that discipline can be better operationalized in an environment where students and teachers are compelled to 'play by the rules'. The case of OTCS I reflects better the aim of 'Christian discipline/discipleship' with which the school brands itself, for the students see that upward mobility in social status is dependent on their academic achievements. Their economic situation does not provide them with the options that their counterparts in OTCS II enjoy. Hence, they cannot afford to be nonchalant about their performance, including their conduct points. This is an example of how the *habitus* of school (including its disciplinary requirements) was competing with the *habitus* of home, and winning in the case of OTCS I. The opposite seems to be true for students in OTCS II.

Conclusion

A Christian school is a site where students' religious subjectivity is constituted and inscribed through disciplinary technologies such as religious education and character building. As a private Christian school, the Olive Tree Christian School has experienced tensions, challenges and dilemmas, particularly in relation to the 2003 Education Law. The school has exercised agency to circumvent the legislation and insisted on parental consent for their children to participate in Christian education. Although a self-proclaimed ecumenical church, the indelible influence of evangelism from its history continues to define its mission, making its religious educational approach a bricolage of both ecumenical and evangelical movements. Through direct control of the school and ongoing moral policing, the church continues to exert its role as a moral gatekeeper of the school. Nevertheless, the school's religious education is influenced by the individual teachers, whose diverse family backgrounds and exposure to different religions and ethnicities have influenced their teaching. The non-indoctrinatory approach taken by the religion class teachers reflects the ecumenical spirit of openness and tolerance for difference.

However, the homogeneous environment at OTCS means that the majority Chinese students have little contact, let alone interaction, with their *pribumi* counterparts. No matter how valiant the efforts of the school, with apathetic parents and students cocooned in their own ethnically defined and religiously homogeneous 'bubble', the ethnically and religiously different 'Muslim *pribumi*' are always the subject of vilification and demonization. The exclusive environment of the school has contributed to the maintenance of this racialized boundary. This worrying trend stands in contrast to the '*habitus* of tolerance' that has been described by some students at OTCS, however elusive such a notion may be.

Tolerance is a slippery term and is not without limits. For OTCS, the limit is defined by the boundary of its Christian religious identity. While some teachers have shown some promising efforts in the inculcation of religious tolerance, the school's insistence that non-Christian students participate in Christian activities and its uncompromising intolerance of sexual minorities reveal a double standard. Although religious indoctrination was not present in any of the religion classes that were observed during the study, it has wormed its way into other aspects of religious education and disciplinary technologies such as character building, through

the regulation of the body and the proscription of premarital and other forms of sexual practice. This raises the question of whether the discourse of discipline in itself is inimical to the discourse of tolerance.

In order to examine both the discourse and the practice of tolerance and discipline in religious schools, one has to consider factors beyond school and religion. The article has shown that the roles of parental education and socioeconomic class are central to the development of the *habitus* of tolerance and the *habitus* of discipline. It argues that the *habitus* of home plays a role in defining a student's response to the teaching of discipline and tolerance in school. The discussion of the problematic attitude and behaviour of students in OTCS II points to the relevance of social class to discipline. However, it is ironic that problems associated with social class are left unaddressed in the character building curriculum, while they seem so much more urgent than the moral panic related to sex and sexuality.

For Christian schools to develop 'critical reflective skills and the attitude of respect for differences' (Feinberg, 2006, p xv), their educational approach needs to be contextual and relevant. The boundary of tolerance has to be constantly (re)negotiated so that tolerance is not circumscribed by narrow religious interpretations. In order to integrate students into the wider multicultural society of Indonesia, Christian schools need to strike a balance between maintaining their religious identity and promoting values of pluralism, tolerance and respect.

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